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REMARKS ON THE  
COINS OF EPHESUS

STRUCK DURING THE ROMAN DOMINION.

BY  
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

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[READ BEFORE THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, MAY 20TH, 1841.]

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REMARKS ON THE  
COINS OF EPHESUS

STRUCK DURING THE ROMAN DOMINION.

BY

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*"Ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐ γινώσκει  
τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον εἶναι τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς  
Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ Διοπετοῦς;—Acts xix. 35.*

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## REMARKS ON THE COINS OF EPHEBUS, STRUCK DURING THE DOMINION OF THE ROMANS.

IN bringing before the Numismatic Society an account of the coins struck at Ephesus, while that city was under the dominion of the Romans, I am well aware that I am risking the charge of attempting to teach many of its members better versed in the subject than myself. Still, believing that I see before me some who are but imperfectly acquainted with the remarkable and important series to which those I am about to describe belong, I shall proceed to notice, in chronological order, such examples as appear to warrant particular description and illustration.

Leaving to the learned in classical geography—and this society reckons among its members those who are well qualified for the task—to settle the question of the *origin* of the city of Ephesus, let us see what ancient writers say of it.

Scylax<sup>1</sup> just glances at the city and its port, and gives us no details of its condition in his time. From Plutarch<sup>2</sup> we learn, that it was a populous and flourishing city in the days of Lysander; and we have a much earlier notice of it in Herodotus, who informs us, that when Cræsus laid siege to Ephesus, the inhabitants stretched a cord from the walls to the statue within the temple, dedicating the city to their favourite goddess.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἐφεσος καὶ λιμὴν.

<sup>2</sup> In Vita Lysand.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκούμενοι ἐκ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Clio. i. 26.

Strabo <sup>4</sup> says that Ephesus was originally named Smyrna, from an Amazon of that name; a portion of the people also being called Sisyrbitæ, from another of the Amazons; that the ancient city was about the Athenæum, which, in the time of this writer, was without the walls, at a spot called Hypelæus, between the cliffs called Tracheia and Lepra; and that a party of these people went out and founded Smyrna. He speaks of Miletus and Ephesus as the best and most illustrious of cities: *ἀρίσται πόλεις καὶ ἐνδοξόταται*. Then, after noticing Miletus and other places, he proceeds to describe the port of Panormus, the temple of Diana, and the city of Ephesus.<sup>5</sup> On the coast, at a short distance from the sea, was the beautiful grove called Ortygia, abounding in all sorts of trees, but especially the cypress, the river Cenchrius flowing through it, where Latona purified herself after childbirth. Above the grove is the mountain Solmissus, where the Curetes, by the noise of their cymbals, prevented Juno from hearing the cries of Latona. The same author informs us, that the city was first inhabited by the Cares and the Leleges; that the chief part of these were expelled by Androclus<sup>6</sup>, who settled his colony about Mount Athenæus and the fountain Hypelæus, occupying a district adjacent to Mount Corrisus, and that it was thus inhabited to the time of Cræsus; that the people afterwards, descending from the mountain tracts, dwelt around the temple to the time of Alexander, and that Lysimachus changed the name of the city to *Arsinœ*;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lib. xiv. c. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Εἶτα λιμὴν Πάνορμος καλούμενος, ἔχων ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐφισίας Ἀρτίμιδος εἰθ' ἡ πόλις.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius says, that Ephesus was founded by Androclus, in the reign of David. *Chronic. Canon*. Ed. 1658. p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> See an article on the coins of Ephesus while called Arsinoë. *Num. Chron.* vol. ii. p. 171.

in honour of his wife; Strabo calls Ephesus the largest emporium within the Taurus.<sup>8</sup> Pausanias<sup>9</sup> says, that the supposition that Ephesus is older than the colonization of the Iones is not well founded; and that Pindar is wrong in stating that the temple was built by the Amazons, when they fought against Theseus and the Athenians. These women, he observes, sacrificed to Diana Ephesia even at that period, and that the temple had been known from remote antiquity. He then proceeds to state, that Cræsus, a native of the country, and Ephesus, the reputed son of the river Cayster, built the temple, and that the city received its name from the latter. The same author says, that Androclus drove out the Leleges and Lydians, who lived in the upper city, but suffered those who lived about the temple to remain.

Pliny speaks of Ephesus as the work of the Amazons, and also of its several names;<sup>10</sup> and from him, we learn

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<sup>8</sup> Ἐμπορίον μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου.

<sup>9</sup> Οὐ μὴν πάντα γε εἰς τὴν θεὸν ἐπίθετο (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνας τὸ ἱερόν ἐφη τοῦτο ἰδρύσασθαι στρατευσομένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε καὶ Θησεῖα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκες ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ, ἅτε ἐπιστάμεναι τε ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλῆα ἔφυγον αἶδε, καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἐτι ἀρχαιότερα, ἰκέτιδες ἐνταῦθα ἐλθοῦσαι. οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων γε ἰδρύνθη. Κρήσος δὲ αὐτόχθων τις καὶ Ἐφεσος (Καύστρου δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν Ἐφεσον παῖδα εἶναι νομίζουσεν) οὗτοι τὸ ἱερόν εἰσιν οἱ ἰδρύσαντες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τῇ πόλει.—Lib. vii. c. 2.

<sup>10</sup> In ora autem Manteum, Ephesus Amazonum opus, multis ante expetita nominibus: Alopes cum pugnatum apud Trojam est, mox Ortygia et Morges vocata est, et Smyrna cognomine Trachea et Samornion et Ptelia.—*Hist. Nat.*, lib. v. c. 29. Solinus, also, in his *Polyhistoria* says, "Epheso decus templum Dianæ, Amazonum fabrica," &c.; and Justin, lib. ii. c. 4, attributes the foundation of Ephesus to the Amazons. Mela's account confirms these: "Ibi Ephesus et Dianæ clarissimum templum, quod Amazones Asia potitæ consecrassent traduntur."—Lib. i. c. 17.

more of its pride and ornament, the temple, than from any other ancient author. He states that the building of this edifice occupied two hundred and twenty years, and that the expense was defrayed by the contributions of all the cities of Asia.<sup>10</sup> It is well known, that this famous structure formed one of the seven wonders of the world; that it was resorted to by devout Greeks in swarms, and that the worship of the Ephesian Diana was cultivated by all the people of Asia; a fact which is indicated by the figure of the goddess on the coins of several neighbouring cities.

In the 19th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, we find that the preaching of St. Paul at Ephesus, provoked to fury a multitude of artizans who gained a livelihood by making "silver shrines for Diana," and that it was only by the prompt and energetic conduct of the officer, termed by the translators of the New Testament "the town clerk," that the uproar was allayed. Of this officer, whose name occurs on many of the coins of Ephesus, we shall soon have occasion to speak.

The words of Dionysius Periegetes, who is supposed to have flourished in the time of Augustus, clearly refer to a very early, if not the earliest, worship of Diana, whose primitive representation was set up under a tree.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Magnificentiæ vera admiratio extat templum Ephesiæ Dianæ ducentis viginti annis factum à toto Asia."—Hist. Nat., xxxv. c. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Παφραλίην Ἐφεσὸν, μεγάλην πόλιν Ἰοχαιίρης  
Ἐνθά θεῇ ποτὲ νήον Ἀμαζονίδες τεύχοντο  
Πρέμνῳ ἐνὶ πελίδι, περίωσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα.

*Orbis Descriptio*, v. 827-28-29.

Callimachus, however, in his Hymn to Diana, says it was a *beech* tree:

Ἐν κότῃ παφραλίῃ Ἐφέσον βρέτας ἰδρύσαντο,  
Φηγῶ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ. v. 238.



After being under the rule of the Syrian monarchs, Ephesus eventually submitted to the Roman yoke: nevertheless, she continued to maintain her high rank among the cities of Asia, which is attested by many authorities, but especially by the numerous coins which have descended to our times.

The Ephesians appear to have been a very credulous and superstitious people, and to have been much addicted to the study of magic. Of this we have interesting evidence in the Acts of the Apostles,<sup>12</sup> when many "which used curious arts," came and burned their books on the preaching of St. Paul. Among other superstitions, was a belief in the power of certain letters termed *Ἐφέσια γράμματα*. Suidas<sup>13</sup> says, that when Milesius and Ephesius wrestled together, Milesius could not throw his adversary because the Ephesian letters were tied to his heel, but having deprived him of this magical assistance, he was soon overcome. It was supposed that whoever pronounced these letters, obtained the object of his wish; and that on hearing them, evil spirits forsook the bodies of those whom they possessed. Plutarch<sup>14</sup> says, that these letters were written on the girdle, the feet, and other parts of the statue of Diana Ephesia, hence their appellation.

The riches of the temple appear to have excited the

<sup>12</sup> Chap. xix. 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ephesiæ literæ: carmina quædam obscura, quæ et Cræsus in rogo recitavit: et Olympiæ Milesio et Ephesio certantibus, Milesium lucturi non potuisse, propterea quod alter juxta talum Ephesias literas haberet. Quibus compertis et demptis, conceidisse Ephesium perhibent.*

<sup>14</sup> Ὅσπερ γὰρ οἱ μάγοι τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους κελεύουσι τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα πρὸς οὗτοὺς καταλέγειν καὶ ὀνομάζειν οὕτως. κ. τ. λ. These words are described as τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ σιμῶν.—*Symp.* L. vii. q. 5.

cupidity of Nero;<sup>15</sup> and at an earlier period C. Scipio intended to plunder it of its pictures and statues, when he suddenly received orders to join Pompey.<sup>16</sup>

The types of the coins of Ephesus bearing the imperial effigy are numerous and interesting, and there appears to have been an uninterrupted issue from the reign of Augustus down to that of Gallienus, when the series of Imperial Greek Coins terminates. The following descriptions are necessarily confined to the most remarkable types.

#### MARCUS ANTONIUS, OCTAVIUS, AND LEPIDUS.

No. 1. *Obv.*—The heads of the Triumvirs, Antonius, Octavius, and Lepidus.

R.—ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΓΡΑΜ. ΓΑΛΥΚΩΝ ΕΥΘΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΕΦΕ. (Money) of the Ephesians. *Glaucon Euthykrates, Highpriest and Scribe.* The statue of Diana Ephesia with supports: at the base, two stags. Æ 4. (*Vaill. Num. Græca.*—*Mionnet, Descr.* vol. iii.)

This rare and interesting example shews that at an early period the Ephesians were anxious to flatter their Roman

<sup>15</sup> At Baream Soranum jam sibi Ostorius Sabinus, eques Romanus, poposcera reum, ex-proconsulatu Asiæ, in qua offensiones principis auxit, justitiâ atque industriâ: at quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumperat: vimque civitatis Pergamenæ, prohibentis Acratum, Cæsaris libertum statuas et picturas evehere, inultam omiserat.—*Tacit. Annales*, lib. xvi. c. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Præterea Ephesi à Fano Dianæ depositas antiquitus pecunias Scipio tolli jubebat, ceterasque ejus Deæ statuas. Quum in Fanum ventum esset, adhibitis compluribus Senatorii ordinis, quos advocaverat Scipio literæ ei redduntur à Pompeio, mare transisse cum legionibus Cæsarem.—*Bell. Civil.* iii. c. 33.

governors, by placing the heads of the *Triumviri* on their common coin. The reverse indicates that at that period, the office of *Γραμματεὺς*, or Scribe, was held by the high-priest; but it does not appear by other coins of Ephesus that it was customary to confer that office on individuals of the priesthood only. This officer, who in our version of the New Testament<sup>17</sup> is called "the town clerk,"<sup>18</sup> was a very important personage among the Greeks, as is shewn not only by numerous coins inscribed ΕΠΙ ΓΡΑΜ.—'Επὶ Γραμματείως, but by two coins of Nysa in Caria, on which the people call Tiberius Cæsar their scribe.<sup>19</sup> The office was held for a year, like that of the Archons; and we sometimes find the second and third year recorded by the addition TO Β., TO Γ., &c.

The figure represented on the reverse of this coin is that of the far-famed goddess Diana; not in that classic form by which she is more generally known, and under which she was worshipped by so many cities of Greece, but distinguished by characteristics, which are best explained by the passage in Hieronymus cited by Eckhel:<sup>20</sup> "Scribebat (Paulus) ad Ephesios Dianam colentes, non hanc venertricem quæ arcum tenet, et succincta est, sed illam multimammam, quam Græci πολυμαστον vocant, ut silicet ex ipsa quoque effigie mentirentur omnium eam bestiarum et viventiam esse nutricem." It was, no doubt, models of

<sup>17</sup> Acts xix. 5.

<sup>18</sup> In Wiclif's version of the New Testament, *Γραμματεὺς* is rendered literally scribe, "and whanne the scribe hadde eesid the puple." Tyndale and Cranmer render it "Towne clarcke," the Rhemish version "Scribe," but in our authorised version of 1611, "Towne clarke" is again used.

<sup>19</sup> Frölich, *Quatuor Tentam*, p. 154.

<sup>20</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 512.

the building, containing representations of this extraordinary figure, which Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen made for the visitors to the temple.<sup>21</sup> Our version of the New Testament<sup>22</sup> says "shrines," and it is not improbable that the coins which will be noticed hereafter, containing the figure within an octostyle temple, were representations of the memorials made by the silversmiths of Ephesus for those who came to wonder and to worship at the shrine of the great goddess. The small silver medallions of Claudius, Vespasian, and Domitian, with the legend DIANA EPHESIA, which must be well known to Numismatists, were, in all probability, struck with the same object. In this conjecture I am supported by Beza, in his commentaries on the New Testament.<sup>23</sup>

Diana Ephesia was unquestionably one of the most important deities of the Greeks. Pausanias<sup>24</sup> says, she was *privately* honoured more than any other divinity; and the same author speaks of several statues of her which he saw in various cities of Greece: one at Corinth<sup>25</sup> was of wood, gilt, and the face painted vermilion colour. We have no minute description of the statue of the goddess at Ephesus; but her form is handed down to us on numerous coins, and there is every reason for believing that the figure which Pausanias saw at Corinth, was painted and ornamented in imitation of the original idol. Pliny<sup>26</sup> gives us

<sup>21</sup> Acts xix. 24.

<sup>22</sup> The words of the original are, *ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς*, &c.

<sup>23</sup> Oxford Edit. p. 355.

<sup>24</sup> Mess. lib. iv. c. 31.

<sup>25</sup> Cor. lib. ii. c. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. 11., "De ipso simulacro deæ," he observes "ambigitur. Cateri ex ebano esse tradunt: Mutianus ter Consul, ex his qui proxime viso eo scripsere *virgineum et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo*."

an account of the statue, but it is not satisfactory. Vitruvius<sup>27</sup> says, it was formed of cedar; while from Xenophon<sup>28</sup> we gather, that it was of gold; hence it may be inferred, that both these materials were used in its fabrication: that the bulk of the image was of wood, plated with gold, and the hands and face painted or plated with ivory, like the statues of other divinities mentioned by Pausanias. The *private* worship rendered to Diana, seems to explain the meaning of the "shrines" which Demetrius made: there can be little doubt but that they were representations of the goddess and her temple, and that they were kept in the houses of the devout, as *Penates*: hence the alarm among the silversmiths of Ephesus, when their profitable trade was threatened by the apostle, and the artful speech of the crafty Demetrius, to whose conduct the remark of Epictetus *ὅπου τὸ συμφέρον ἐκεί καὶ τὸ εὐσεβές*, as noticed by the learned Witsius,<sup>29</sup> may be appropriately applied. The statue of Diana at Ephesus, was preserved by the application of resinous gums, which were inserted in cavities made for that purpose, a practice alluded to by Pliny as well as by Vitruvius.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> De Architectura, lib. ii. c. 9.

<sup>28</sup> De Exped. Cyri., lib. v.

<sup>29</sup> Meletemata Leidensia, p. 82.

<sup>30</sup> Item cedrus et juniperus easdem habent virtutes et utilitates, sed quemadmodum ex cupressu et pinu resina, sic ex cedro oleum, quod cedrium dicitur nascitur, quo reliquæ res cum sunt unctæ (uti etiam libri) à tineis et a carie non læduntur. Arboris autem ejus sunt similes cupressæ foliaturæ; materies vena directa. Ephesi in æde, simulacrum Dianæ et etiam lacunara ex ea, et ibi et in cæteris nobilibus fanis propter æternitatem sunt facta.—*De Architect.* lib. ii. c. 9.

## AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA.

2. *Obv.* The heads of Augustus and Livia.

- R. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ ΜΕΟΝΩΝ ΘΕΥΔΗΣ ΕΦΕ. (Money)  
*of the Ephesians. Meonon Theudes, Scribe.* A stag  
 standing: above, a quiver suspended. Æ 5½. (Mionnet  
 from the Cabinet of Cousinery.)

The Stag frequently occurs on the autonomous coins of Ephesus, which is noticed by the Sophist Libanius<sup>31</sup> and the meaning of the type is obvious: Strabo<sup>32</sup> calls Diana Elaphia from Ἐλαφος a stag. Pindar styles her Ἐλαφροβόλος and the name of Ἐλαφροβολίων was given by the Athenians to the month of February, when they sacrificed a stag to Diana. It appears from Pausanias<sup>33</sup> that the stag was sacred also to Proserpine, and that writer mentions one of great age, very sagely concluding that the stag lives longer than the elephant.

## LIVIA.

3. *Obv.* ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. *Julia Augusta.* Head of the Empress.

- R. ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. *Diana of the Ephesians.* The  
 same head. *Faill. Num. Græca.* Æ 5.

Both the obverse and reverse of this coin bear the head of Livia. On the obverse she appears as the wife of the Emperor, but on the reverse, by a species of adulation very common with the Greeks, she is styled Diana of the Ephesians. Eckhel describes a coin of Julia Domna wife of

<sup>31</sup> Ἐφίσιους δὲ καὶ τὸ νομίσμα τὴν ἔλαφον ἔφερον. *Orat.* xxxii.  
 This author also tells us, that the earth produced Deer, Bows  
 and Arrows, when Diana was born!

<sup>32</sup> *Lib.* viii.

<sup>33</sup> *Lib.* viii. c. 10,

Severus, struck at Azotus in Judæa, on the reverse of which the bust of the Empress appears with the legend ΔΟΜΝΑ ΤΥΧΗ ΑΩΤΙΩΝ, *Domna the Fortune of the Azotii*.<sup>34</sup> Many similar examples might be cited.

#### DRUSUS AND ANTONIA.

4. *Obv.*—The heads of Drusus and Antonia.

R.—ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟC ΓΡΑ. ΕΦΕ. (Money) of the Ephesians. *Cusinius, Scribe.* A stag standing: in the field, a monogram. (*Mionnet from the Cabinet of Cousinery.*) Æ 4.

#### GERMANICUS.

5. *Obv.*—ΕΦΕ, i. e. Εφεσιων. (Money) of the Ephesians. Bare infant head of Germanicus.

R.—ΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΟC ΤΟ Δ. *Cusinius, Scribe for the fourth time.* Within an olive garland. (*Idem.*) Æ 4.

It appears from the first of these coins, that Cusinius was the Scribe; and from the second, that he held the office for the fourth time. Some writers have proposed *Cancellarius*, others *Recorder*, for the word *Scribe*.

#### NERO.

6. *Obv.*—ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. *Nero Cæsar.* Laureated head of Nero.

R.—ΑΙΧΜΟΚΛΗ ΔΟΥΙΟΛΑ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΕΦ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. (Money) of the Ephesians, *Neocori, Aechmocles Aviola, Proconsul.* Side view of a Temple. Æ 7.

The legend on the reverse of this coin, shews that the proconsular authority was established in its full power at Ephesus, in the reign of Nero. The proconsul here named, is supposed by Eckhel<sup>35</sup> to have been Consul in the year of

<sup>34</sup> Cat. Num. Vindob. p. 250. Sestini, Desc. p. 546.

<sup>35</sup> Doc. Num. Vet. Vol. ii. p. 159.

Rome, 807. Aviola was a cognomen of the consular family Acilia. Acilius Aviola chastised the Turones and Andecavi in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>36</sup> The name of Aviola appears on the coins of Smyrna and of Pergamus under Caligula.<sup>37</sup> These coins, with the *Proconsul's* name, are especially interesting, from the circumstance of their shewing that the *Scribe* was no longer the important personage he had once been at Ephesus. Indeed, the words of the *Scribe* to the riotous mob, when St. Paul preached in that city, prove this.<sup>38</sup> They not only shew that he himself was amenable to a higher power, but also that the Roman law, which punished with death those who raised a tumult, was in full force at Ephesus. "We are in danger to be called in question for this uproar," are the words of our version; and further, "The law is open, and there are deputies."<sup>39</sup> The utilitarian will smile at my adding, that, but for the substitution at this period of the name of the *Proconsul* for that of the *Scribe*, we might probably have learned the very name of the "Town Clerk" who so promptly suppressed the commotion raised by the Ephesian craftsmen. That the office of *Scribe* was one of the greatest importance may be inferred from the Syriac version of the New Testament, where *Scribe* (ὁ γραμματεὺς) is rendered ܪܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ (reesho dam deetho), *the chief, or prince, of the city*. But in the Syriac version of the Old Testament, the word סופר is always rendered simply ܣܘܦܪܐ (sophro), *Scribe*; a very good proof that the Syriac translators were aware of the nature of the office of *Scribe* in the Greek cities.

<sup>36</sup> Tacit. Annales, iii. c. 41.

<sup>37</sup> Doe. Num. Vet. ii. p. 519.

<sup>38</sup> Acts xix. 40.

<sup>39</sup> Ἄρχοντες ἄγονται καὶ ἈΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΙ εἶσιν, Acts xix. 38; earlier versions have "Rulers" for the word *Proconsuls*.



## DOMITIANUS.

7. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ CΕΒΑCΤΟC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟC,  
*Domitianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus.* Laureated  
 head of the Emperor, with the paludamentum.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΑΝΘΥ. ΚΑΙCΕΝΝΙΟΥ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ.  
*ZMYP. Concord of the people of Ephesus and Smyrna,*  
*under the proconsul Cæcennius Pætus.* Two Amazons  
 joining hands; in the left hand of each a *Bipennis*. Æ 8.  
 (Mionnet from the Cab. of Cousinery.)

The legend of the reverse commemorates the alliance of the Ephesians and Smyrnæans, under the Proconsulship of Pætus. The type alludes to the origin which tradition assigned to the Ionian Cities. An Amazon is often represented on the coins of Smyrna, armed with the *Pelta* and *Bipennis*, or double-edged axe, the favourite weapon of these women: hence Horace<sup>40</sup> says

Amazoniâ securi  
 Dextras obarmet.

Pliny speaks of the statues of the Amazons in the temple of Diana.

- No. 8. *Obv.*—Same head and legend.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΑΝΟΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΡΟΥCΩΝΟC ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕ.  
*ZMYP. Concord of the people of Ephesus and Smyrna*  
*under the proconsul Ruso.* The figure of Diana Ephesia  
 between the two Nemeses. Æ 9. (Sestini. *Descriz.*  
 p. 328.)

The two figures, between which the Ephesian goddess stands, frequently appear on the money of Smyrna, and would alone explain the type of this coin without the word ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. They represent the *Nemeses*, divinities held in the highest veneration by the Smyrnæans<sup>41</sup> for the fol-

<sup>40</sup> Lib. iv. carm. iv.

<sup>41</sup> Like Diana of the Ephesians, the epithet "great" was given to them, as appears by the Oxford marble: ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΝΕΜΕΞΕΩΝ.

lowing reasons:—Pausanias<sup>42</sup> informs us that Alexander the Great built the city of Smyrna in consequence of a vision which appeared to him in a dream; that, fatigued with hunting, the monarch fell asleep under a plane tree by the side of a fountain which watered a temple dedicated to the Nemeses, when these divinities appeared and commanded him to build a city on the spot. The oracle having been consulted, and a favourable answer returned, the divine injunction was obeyed; and the figures of the Nemeses consequently appear perpetually on the coins of Smyrna. Coins of Marcus Aurelius and of Gordian, struck in that city, have on the reverse a representation of this dream of Alexander, who appears asleep under the plane tree, his head resting on his shield, and the two Nemeses standing near him.<sup>43</sup> Ancient writers are not agreed as to the parentage of the Nemeses. Pausanias, Ammianus, Euripides, and Hesiod, all differ, and they are variously portrayed by the Greeks. On some of the coins of Smyrna, one of them is represented with a wheel, the other with a sling, and the latter has been called Adrastia. The figures of the Nemeses are often represented with their fingers on their lips and in company with a griffin, and they sometimes hold a cornucopiæ. From these attributes, it is evident that Fortune or Providence is intended.

The learned Buonnaroti<sup>44</sup> has cited two very remarkable representations of Nemesis, one on *Sard*, where she appears winged, with a wheel at her feet, and holding a serpent which she feeds out of a patera, just as Hygeia is

<sup>42</sup> Lib. vii. c. 5.

<sup>43</sup> Mionnet Descr. de Med. Ant. tome iii. p. 231, and p. 250.

<sup>44</sup> Osservazioni Istoriche di Medaglioni. Roma, 4to. 1698.

represented on many Roman and Greek coins. This seems to illustrate the description of Eschylus, who gives golden wings to Fortune. These appendages to a figure given by Gruter, have led some antiquaries to suppose that it was a representation of Aurora with wings. Pausanias, however, says that the famous statue of Rhamnusia and the most ancient figures of this deity were wingless,<sup>45</sup> but that he found those at Smyrna had wings, so that the figures of the Nemeses seen on the coins of Smyrna, were probably copied from the most ancient statues of the goddesses.

That the original Nemesis was no other than Fortune, and that good and ill-fortune were implied by the double personification, will at once be seen by a reference to Simplicius' Commentaries on Aristotle.<sup>46</sup> It is well known that the Athenians erected a statue to Nemesis after the battle of Marathon, and that it was executed by Phidias from marble, which the Persians had brought with them to erect a trophy in Greece.<sup>47</sup>

No. 9. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΜΑΡΝΑC.—(Money) of the Ephesians. *Marnas*. The usual representation of a river god; namely, a male figure seated on the ground, holding a cornucopia in his right hand, and the left elbow resting on an urn reversed. Æ 6.

Antiquaries are not agreed as to the precise meaning of this type; and various conjectures have been offered on the word MARNAS. Some have supposed it to allude to Jupiter, to whom the name of *Marnas* was given by the people of Gaza. The learned Tristan <sup>48</sup> quotes an account

<sup>45</sup> Lib. i. c. 33.

<sup>46</sup> Lib. ii.

<sup>47</sup> Pausanias, lib. i. c. 33.

<sup>48</sup> Com. Historiques, tome ii. p. 250.

of the destruction of several Pagan temples at Gaza, in the days of Arcadius and Honorius, by St. Porphyry, bishop of that city, among which was one of *Marnas*.<sup>49</sup> Stephanus<sup>50</sup> speaks of this deity, who was the same as Jupiter Crætæus, the word מַרְנַשׁ *Marnas* being Syriac and signifying *the lord of men*; and it has been conjectured, that Μαρνὰς Ἐφεσίων signifies *the Virgin of the Ephesians*, Marnas being also the Cretensian word for Virgin. The Numismatist will decide how far these recondite illustrations apply to the coin before us. Havercamp<sup>51</sup> and Vailant<sup>52</sup> see only a river god in the recumbent figure. Later numismatists, however, have supposed it to be the representation of a *sacred fountain*. Now as meadows and fountains were peculiarly sacred to Diana, as mountains and high places were consecrated to Jupiter,<sup>53</sup> it seems by no means improbable that the word *Marnas* may be referred to that goddess to whom the fountain in question might have been sacred.

#### DOMITIANUS AND DOMITIA.

No. 10. *Obv.*—ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ CΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ CΕΒΑCΤΗ.  
*Domitianus Cæsar, Domitia Augusta.* The heads of the Emperor and Empress face to face.

<sup>49</sup> Erant autem in civitate simulacrorum publica templa octo, Nempe, Solis, Veneris, Apollinis, Proserpinæ, et Hecates, et quod dicebant Hierion, seu sacerdotum templum; et Fortunæ arbis, quod dicebant Tycheon, et ΜΑΡΝΙΟΝ, &c. &c. Marcus the deacon, who gives this account, says, "Dicebant (Gazaei) enim Marnam esse dominum imbrium."

<sup>50</sup> De Urbib. voce Gaza.

<sup>51</sup> Médailles de Christine, p. 343.

<sup>52</sup> Num. Græca, p. 23. The same author, p. 22, gives a coin of Smyrna with ΜΑΡΩΝΟΣ.

<sup>53</sup> Ἰερὰ δὲ Ἀρτίμιδος, πηγὰὶ γαμάτων καὶ κοῖλαι νάσαι, καὶ ἄθροισι λειμῶνες. *Maximus Tyrius*, Diss. xxxviii.

R.—ΝΕΙΚΗ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΦΕ. *The Victory of Domitianus.*—(Money) of the *Ephesians*. Victory, standing, with garland and palm branch. Æ 5½.

It is to be feared that none of the coins of this tyrant, which record a victory, will serve the purpose of the historian; and it was said of Domitian especially, that whenever fortune frowned on his arms, he seized on the occasion to proclaim a victory, a practice not altogether abandoned in modern times!

#### HADRIANUS.

No. 11. *Obv.*—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΟΥΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ. *Hadrianus Caesar Olympius*. Laureated head of Hadrian with the paludamentum.

R.—ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ.—(Money) of the *Ephesians*. The statue of Diana Ephesia within an octostyle temple, the front ornamented with a bas-relief, representing a sacrifice, &c. Æ 10½.

Long before the days of Hadrian, the Greeks had been in the habit of paying divine honours to the worst of princes. Magnificent temples were built in honour of, and the most fulsome adulation was offered to, men who practised every species of vice that can debase human nature. Hadrian was unquestionably possessed of qualities which, if rightly exercised, might have rendered him without a parallel in the history of the Roman Empire, but these were obscured by vices which will neither bear description nor comment. Why and on what occasion the people of Ephesus gave to Hadrian the title of *Olympius* is, I believe, unknown. That odious system of Polytheism, which associated Jupiter with Ganymede, might have suggested the epithet. While the Ephesians were bestowing a surname of the king of the gods upon their emperor, other cities of Greece were erecting temples to Antinöus!

The various styles of the temples which appear on the coins of Ephesus perplexed the Count Caylus,<sup>54</sup> who observes, that they do not agree with the description of Pliny; and he assigns, as a reason, the fact of the many restorations of this edifice. It is somewhat singular that Pliny<sup>55</sup> and Vitruvius<sup>56</sup> differ as to the order of its architecture, the first declaring it to be Doric, and the other, Ionic.

The name of the first architect of the temple of Diana, according to Strabo,<sup>57</sup> was Chersiphron; but it was enlarged by some other person. This structure was burned by Erostratus on the night of the birth of Alexander the Great, a calamity which the Greeks attributed to the absence of Diana in her quality of Lucina at the delivery of Olympias.<sup>58</sup> But another temple was soon built by the Ephesians; and this greatly surpassed the former, the funds being supplied by the contributions of the citizens, which included even the personal ornaments of the women.<sup>59</sup> Alexander offered to build the temple at his own expense, on condition that his name should be inscribed upon it. This offer they declined, alleging that it would be impossible for a god to make offerings to the gods! The architect of the new edifice was Cheiromocrates (or Deinocrates) the same who offered to cut down mount Athos into a statue of Alexander.

<sup>54</sup> *Récueil d' Antiquités*. tome iv. p. 154.

<sup>55</sup> *Præter has sunt quæ vocantur Atticæ columnæ, &c.—Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. c. 23.

<sup>56</sup> — et Ephesiæ Dianæ Ionica. *De Architect.* lib. iii.

<sup>57</sup> *Lib.* xiv. c. i.

<sup>58</sup> Vide Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. c. 27. Plutarch, in vitâ Alexand. *Ammian.* lib. viii. 14.

<sup>59</sup> Strabo refutes the statement of Timæus, the Sicilian historian, who says that the expense of the rebuilding was defrayed by the deposits of the Persians.

Pliny informs us that the temple was built in the plain in preference to a more elevated situation; in order that it might not be affected by the shocks of earthquakes to which the country was subject.<sup>61</sup> The foundations were laid on charcoal, rammed, and the skins of beasts. The building occupied two hundred and twenty years: it had one hundred and twenty-seven columns, executed at the cost of so many kings. One of them was sculptured by the famous Scopas.<sup>62</sup> Among other curiosities within the building was a staircase which led up to the roof, formed of a single vine. The altar was covered with the sculptures of Praxiteles, and the temple contained some of the finest works of the artists of antiquity.

No. 12. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.—(Money) of the Ephesians, twice Neocori. The temple of Diana Ephesia containing her statue. Æ 10.

No. 13. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—Same legend. Two Octostyle Temples. Æ 11.

It is this title of *Neocorus* to which the Scribe or "Town clerk" alludes in his address to the Ephesians—"Ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΝ οὔσαν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος."<sup>63</sup> The primitive signification of the word was *temple sweeper*<sup>64</sup>; but it afterwards became a title of great importance, and was boastfully assumed by several Greek

<sup>61</sup> In solo id palustri fecere, ne terræ motus sentiret, aut hiatus timeret.—*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

<sup>62</sup> Scopas is mentioned by Pliny, Cicero, and Horace; and Pausanias speaks of several statues which were executed by him.

<sup>63</sup> Acts xix. 35.

<sup>64</sup> From *νίω* a temple, and *κωρεω* to sweep.

cities, and especially by the Ephesians, whose greatest pride was that they were the Neocori of the great goddess Diana. Several learned dissertations have been written on this title and its repetition<sup>65</sup>; on the precise meaning of which antiquaries are not quite agreed. It appears, by the Oxford marbles, to have been sometimes awarded by decree of the Senate, and by a coin of Alexander Severus (*Vaillant, Num. Græca*), that the title of Neocorus was, in some cities, conferred on individuals — Μ ΕΥΤΕΝΙΗ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ *Αγτων*.

No. 14. *Obr.*—ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ. *Olympius Hadrianus.*  
Head of the Emperor.

R.—ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. *Diana of the Ephesians.*  
Diana overpowering a stag which she seizes by the horns,  
her knee pressing on its back. Æ 6.

Hercules is represented on Greek coins seizing the hind of CEnoe in a similar manner. Among the surnames of Diana was that of *Θηρόκτοτος*, or destroyer of wild and ferocious beasts; and she is thus characterized by Horace:—

———— et sævis inimica Virgo  
Belluis.

Cicero<sup>66</sup> informs us that there were several Dianæ,—the first being the daughter of Jupiter and Proserpine, said to be the mother of Cupid; the second, daughter of Jupiter and Latona; the third, daughter of Upis and Glaucæ, and that the latter was the Diana to whom the Greeks gave the name of Upis. But this goddess is generally considered the daughter of Jupiter and Latona; and that such was the prevailing fable at Ephesus will be seen in the remarks on another coin of the city noticed hereafter.

<sup>65</sup> See especially Pellerin, *Mélanges*, vol. ii. p. 266; Cuper, *Lett. de Critique*, p. 479; and Eckhel, *Doc. Num. Vet.* vol. iv. p. 289.

<sup>66</sup> *De Nat. Deor.* lib. iii. c. 23.



She is here represented in her appropriate hunting costume as described by Ovid :—<sup>67</sup>

Nuda genu, vestem ritu succincta Dianæ.

Quotations innumerable might be cited from ancient authors who speak of this goddess; but to notice one half of them would swell these remarks beyond the limits assigned to them; yet I cannot refrain from mentioning a very remarkable inscription, said to have been discovered in Spain some years since, in which Diana is styled "Mother," an epithet which, though strictly applicable to this goddess in her Ephesian character, is, in other respects, difficult to be reconciled with the description of the poets.—

TEMPLVM DIANAE  
 MATRI D.D. APV  
 LEIVS ARCHITEC  
 TVS SVBSTRVXIT.

The same type is found on a coin of Commodus in the British Museum.

No. 16. *Obr.*—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΤΡΑ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC CΕΒ. *The Emperor Caesar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus.* Laureated head.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΥCΤΡΟC. (*Money of the Ephesians.* *Cayster.* A river-god seated on the ground, holding ears of corn and a cornucopia. Æ 7.

The reverse of this coin has the most common representation of a river-god. Pausanias<sup>68</sup> informs us, that he saw in a temple at Psophis, several figures of river-gods; some of which were, no doubt, thus represented. They were all formed of white stone, except that of the Nile, which was black, because that river passes through Ethiopia in its way to the sea. Aelian<sup>69</sup> speaks of the various forms under

<sup>67</sup> Metam. lib. x. 536.

<sup>68</sup> Lib. viii. c. 24.

<sup>69</sup> Var. Hist. Lib. ii. c. 33.

which the river deities of the Greeks were personified, of which we have many examples on the coins which have descended to our times, the most elegant of which is that of the seated figure on this specimen.

The overflowings of the Cayster formed what Virgil terms "*Asia Palus*,"<sup>70</sup> to which he also alludes in the lines,

Jam varias pelagi volucres, et quæ Asia circum  
Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur *prata Caystri*.<sup>71</sup>

This stream appears to have been the resort of flocks of swans: Homer<sup>72</sup> compares the martial array of the Greeks to the clustering of the swans and cranes on the windings of the Cayster, and the plains of Asius which it watered:—

————— ἡ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων  
Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καύστριον ἄμφι ῥέεθρα.

And Ovid<sup>73</sup> alludes to the river and its feathered denizens thus:—

————— non illo plura Caystros  
Carmina cygnorum labentibus audit in undis.

While Martial,<sup>74</sup> rating the plagiarist Fidentinus, says,

Sic Niger in ripis errat cum forte Caystri  
Inter Lædæos ridetur corvus olores.

L. AELIUS.

No. 17. *Obv.*—Bare head of Ælius.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. (Money) of the Ephesians, twice Neocori. An octostyle temple, ornamented with busts of Hadrian and Aelius, and containing a statue of the Ephesian Diana. Æ 9.

<sup>70</sup> Aen. vii. 701.

<sup>72</sup> Il. ii. 460.

<sup>74</sup> Epig. i. 54.

<sup>71</sup> Georg. i. 383-4.

<sup>73</sup> Metam. lib. v.

Of this favourite, and adopted son, of Hadrian we have several fine coins, not only of the Roman, but also of the imperial Greek series; and the present example is interesting, as shewing in what estimation the *Cæsar* was held by the Ephesians.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

No. 18. *Obv.*—T. AIA. KAICAP ANTΩNEINOC. *Titus Aelius Caesar Antoninus.* Laureated head of the emperor.

*R.*—ΠΕΙΩΝ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. Jupiter seated on what appears to be a rock, or the rugged peak of a mountain, holding in his right hand a cornucopia reversed, from which a shower (of rain?) is descending, his left hand grasping a thunderbolt; in the distance, to the right, a temple and a cypress tree, and in the foreground, a reclining bearded figure. Æ 10.

This remarkable coin, engraved and described by Seguín,<sup>75</sup> has been elegantly illustrated by the learned Eckhel.<sup>76</sup> Seguín renders the unusual legend, *Piorum Ephesiorum*, and conjectures that the emperor himself is represented under the form and attributes of Jupiter, who holds the fulmen “non minax sed quietum,” and that the Ephesians meant by this type to flatter their virtuous ruler in a manner very common to the Greeks. Eckhel, however, sees in the type an allegory of Jupiter Pluvius, and the earth, and quotes the following lines of Virgil<sup>77</sup> in illustration of it:—

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbris aether  
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit, et omnes  
Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, fœtus.

Other illustrations may be found in various ancient au-

<sup>75</sup> Sel. Num. p. 154.

<sup>76</sup> Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 514.

<sup>77</sup> *Georgic*, ii. 325. There is a very remarkable figure of Jupiter Pluvius on the Antonine column.

thors,<sup>78</sup> and the description given by Pausanias<sup>79</sup> of the statue which he saw at Athens, representing the Earth imploring showers from Jupiter, must not be overlooked. Seguin supposes the reclining figure to be symbolical of the province of Ionia; but as the coin appears to be not in the best condition, it is more likely to be the ordinary representation of a river-god, and probably typifies the Cayster. The emperor, M. Aurelius,<sup>80</sup> speaks of a practice of the Athenians, who, when supplicating Jupiter for rain, addressed that deity with the words—*ύσον, ύσον, φίλε Ζεύ!*—*rain, rain, dear Jupiter.*

With regard to the remarkable legend—*Εφέσιων Πείων*, Eckhel<sup>81</sup> considers the word *Πείων* as an epithet assumed by the Ephesians in honour of the Emperor Antoninus Pius—“*Ephesios se dixisse Πειονος ex nomine Imperantis tum Antonini Pii.*” Now the only reason which can be assigned for the explanation of that great numismatic authority, is the circumstance of the word *ΠΕΙΩΝ* being found solely on the coins of Antoninus Pius; but, as the walls of the city of Ephesus extended over mount Pion, and traces of them were seen by Chandler when he visited the spot, it seems more probable that the legend is intended to include the inhabitants of the mountain, who were considered joint citizens with the Ephesians. The rise of several streams in the Cilbian heights is noticed by Chandler, and this with Pliny's<sup>82</sup> description, seems admirably to illustrate the type.

<sup>78</sup> Vide, especially Tibullus, Eleg. viii.; Statius, Theb. iv.

<sup>79</sup> In Attic. lib. i.

<sup>80</sup> *Προς ίαυρον*. lib. v. c. 7.

<sup>81</sup> Doct. Num. Vet. ii. p. 316.

<sup>82</sup> “Attollitur (Ephesii) Monte Pione. Alluitur Caystro in Cylbianis jugis orto, multosque annes deferente et stagnum Pegasum, quod Phyrtes amnis expellit.”—Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 29.

No. 19. *Obv.*—ΑΥ. Κ. Τ. ΑΙ. ΑΔΡΙΑ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *The Emperor Cæsar Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus. Laureated head of the Emperor.*

R.—ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑCΙΑC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ.—*The community of Asia. (Money) of the Ephesians. The statue of Diana Ephesia crowned by Victory; by her side, a female figure, with a turreted crown, holding the hasta; at her feet, two stags.*  
Æ 10.

The female figure with the turreted crown is doubtless the province of Ionia; and the coin was probably struck to commemorate some victory obtained by Antoninus, which the Ephesians were desirous of attributing to the intervention of their favourite goddess; but the absence of any record of the Consulship, or the Tribunita Potestas, on Imperial Greek coins, often deprives us of all means of even guessing at the event they are intended to record.

No. 20. *Obv.*—Τ. ΑΙ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *Titus Ælius Cæsar Antoninus. Laureated head of Antoninus.*

R.—ΖΜΥΡ. ΠΕΡΓ. ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΟΜΟΝ. *Concord of the people of Smyrna, Pergamus, and Ephesus. Diana Ephesia with her attributes standing between Æsculapius and Nemesis.*  
Æ 11.

The three figures on the reverse of this coin are the tutelary deities of Smyrna, Pergamus, and Ephesus, and are therefore very appropriately brought together to commemorate the concord of the three cities. Of the Nemeses I have already spoken, and I shall reserve my remarks on the deity of Pergamus for a paper on the coins of that city.

No. 21. *Obv.*—Same head.

R.—ΑΙΟΘΑΛΩΝ ΕΜΒΑCΙΟC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. *Apollo Embasius of the Ephesians. A Galley. (Vaillant, Num. Græca.)*  
Æ .

Among the numerous surnames which the Greeks gave to Apollo were those of Embasius and Ekbasius, derived from 'Εμβάσιω (*I embark*) and 'Εκβάσιω (*I land*). This deity is often thus named in the argonautics of Apollonius, as noticed by Eckhel,<sup>83</sup> who observes that his worship was very appropriate in a maritime and commercial city.—“Numen urbi opportunum, cujus amplum fuit mari commercium.”

No. 22. *Obv.*—T. ΑΙΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *Titus Aelius Cæsar Antoninus.* The laureated head of Antoninus.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΔΙC ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.—(*Money*) of the Ephesians, twice Neocori. Three temples, each having within it a statue, the centre one being that of Diana Ephesia. Æ 10.

It is obvious that the title “twice Neocori” here refers only to the Neocori of the *Emperors*; that of the Great Diana, “whom all Asia and the world worshipped,”<sup>84</sup> being considered as a thing well known to the surrounding cities.

It is further quite clear from this type that the Ephesians at this period did not always include in their records of the number of times they were declared Neocori—the Neocorus of the Great Diana. They probably considered it a title which they enjoyed by consent of all the civilized world, and therefore not to be confounded with recent favours and benefactions. But, if this be admitted with regard to the coins of the times of the Antonines, it will not establish a rule for those of a later period,—since we find on the

<sup>83</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. ii. p. 516.

<sup>84</sup> *Acts* xix. v. 27.

money of subsequent reigns, ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ,—the Neocorus of Diana included, and evidently alluding to the four temples represented on the reverse.

No. 23. *Obv.*—Τ. ΑΙΑ. ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *Titus Ælius Cæsar Antoninus.* Laureated head.

R.—ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. *Aurelius Cæsar. (Money) of the Ephesians.* Marcus Aurelius on horseback. (*Mionnet from the cabinet of Cousinery.*) Æ 10.

This coin was probably struck in honour of the emperor's visit to Ephesus.

No. 24. *Obv.*—ΑΥΓ. Κ. ΡΟ. ΛΙΚΙΝ. ΒΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC. *The Emperor Cæsar Publius Licinius Valerianus.* Laureated head.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ Γ. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ.—(*Money*) of the Ephesians, *thrice Neocori.* A woman walking to the right, holding in each arm a child. Æ 7.

As will be noticed hereafter, the Ephesians maintained that Apollo and Diana were not born at Delos, but in the Ortygian grove, near their city. Of course such a tradition became hallowed by time; and we accordingly find it illustrated by this type as late as the days of Valerian. A coin of Tranquillina, wife of Gordian, has a similar representation of Latona with her twin children; but one of them holds his bow and the other a globe, a symbol very significant of the universal worship of the goddess.

No. 25. *Obv.*—ΑΥΓ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΔΡΙ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *The Emperor Cæsar Adrianus Antoninus.* Laureated head of Antoninus with the paludamentum.

R.—ΕΗΙ ΕCΤΙΑΙΟΥ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord under Estilius.* Diana Ephesia and Diana Lucifera standing. Æ 10.

There is another coin of this type with the bare head of Antoninus. The figures on the reverse are exceedingly

curious as representing Diana in her Ephesian character, and also as Hecate. The first is evidently a very ancient figure. Its stiffness and formality indicate a primitive origin; and the rigidity of the arms, which project from the side of the image, is so remarkable, that they appear to have been the adjuncts of a succeeding age, while the props or supports do not terminate in tridents as on other coins. The other figure may possibly be a representation of that which Pliny<sup>65</sup> describes, which was of marble, and of such dazzling lustre, that the beholders were cautioned to shade their eyes from its effulgence.

No. 26. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—ΙΕΡΑ ΑΠΗΝΗ ΘΦΕCΙΩΝ.—*The Sacred Car of the Ephesians.* The Theusa or Sacred Car drawn by two mules. Æ 10.

The Theusa or Divine Car, called also Carpentum, and by the Greeks ἀπήνη, appears more frequently on Roman coins. It is figured on those of Agrippina and Domitilla, having, as would appear by the legends, been used to convey the remains of those empresses to their last resting places. They were employed also in the sacred processions when the images of the gods were paraded in public. Though the animals, harnessed to the car on this example, are more like horses (for which, indeed, Vaillant mistook them) than mules, it appears by a passage in Athenæus, quoted by Eekhel<sup>66</sup>, that the latter animal was used on these occasions.

<sup>65</sup> Et Hecate Ephesi in templo Dianæ post ædem, in cuius contemplatione admonent æditui parcere oculis, tanta marmoris radiatio est.—*Hist. Nat.* lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Ἀπήναι ἐφ' ἡμιόρων ἀγόμεναι—Theusæ a mulis tractæ.



No. 27. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—ΕΠΙ ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΟC ΑΡΤΕΜΙC ΕΦΕ-  
CΙΩΝ.—*Under Pætus, Scribe. Diana of the Ephesians.*  
Statue of the Ephesian Diana. Æ 8½.

This coin is remarkable, merely from the circumstance of the re-appearance of the name of the *Scribe*, a fact which invites the inquiries and conjectures of the antiquary and numismatist. If this Pætus be the same personage as the Proconsul whose name appears on the next coin, it is another proof of the importance of the office of Scribe.

No. 28. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—ΑΝΘΥ. ΚΑΙCΕΝ. ΠΑΙΤΟΥ ΕΦΕ. CΜΥ. ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ.  
*Concord of the people of Ephesus and Smyrna under the*  
*Proconsul Cæcennius Pætus. Diana and Apollo stand-*  
*ing with their attributes. Æ 9. (Sestini, Deseriz.)*

The type of this coin requires little explanation. It was natural that Apollo should be figured in company with a deity so highly venerated by the Ephesians; and it is somewhat remarkable that, as the brother of the great goddess, he does not appear oftener on the coins of Ephesus.

No. 29. *Obv.*—ΟΥΗΡΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ CΕ. *Verus*  
*Cæsar, Faustina Augusta. Heads of Marcus Aurelius*  
*and Faustina Junior.*

R.—ΕΠΙ CΤΡΑ. ΙΟΥΑΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. (*Money*) of the  
*Ephesians, under the Prætor Julianus. A river god*  
*seated on the ground, holding in his right hand the*  
*image of Diana Ephesia. Æ 5. (Vaillant).*

Sestini<sup>87</sup> gives a coin of Ephesus, struck during the reign of S. Severus, on which Jupiter Olympius is represented seated, holding the image of Diana Ephesia; and Vaillant<sup>88</sup> describes another of the same emperor, on which that deity is figured standing and holding a similar intage.

This coin is remarkable on account of its bearing the

<sup>87</sup> Lett. Num. Cont. iv. p. 77.

<sup>88</sup> Num. Græca.

name of the *Στρατηγος* or *Prætor*, instead of that of the *Proconsul* or the *Scribe*; and it should be observed, that it was struck previous to the year A. D. 161, while *Aurelius* yet bore the names of *Marcus Annius Verus*, and was merely *Cæsar*; though his consort, as the daughter of *Antoninus Pius*, is styled *Augusta*.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

No. 30 *Obv.*—ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΥ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *The Emperor Cæsar Aurelius Antoninus.* Laureated head of *Aurelius*.

R.—ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΔΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟ[ΡΩΝ] ΠΡΩ[ΤΩΝ] ΑΣΙΑΣ.  
(Money) of the *Ephesians*, twice *Neocori*, the first of *Asia*. *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus* sacrificing at an altar, with the fire kindled, before the statue of the *Ephesian Diana*. Æ 11.

Several cities of antiquity assumed the title of *Πρωτος* or *First*, and its signification has been discussed by *Eckhel*,<sup>89</sup> who has cited the conflicting opinions of various learned men. *Pergamus*, *Samos*, *Smyrna*, and *Tralles* are among those cities whose coins most frequently boast the title of *Protos*, which appears to have been assumed simply as a title of excellence, and not in the sense of *Metropolis*, an epithet which we find perpetually recorded on the coins of *Antioch*. It is remarkable that, although there are many numismatic records of the friendship and alliance between the cities of *Ephesus* and *Smyrna*, they both inscribed on their coins the boasted title *ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC*.

No. 31. *Obv.*—ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝ. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.* Laureated head of *Marcus Aurelius*.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΟΜΟΝ. *Concord of the people of Ephesus and Hierapolis.* *Diana Ephesia* between two stags; on her left, *Apollo* standing. Æ 10½.

<sup>89</sup> *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iv. p. 282.

It does not appear from the coins of Hierapolis in Phrygia, that Apollo was the tutelary deity of that city, for the types comprise, among many others, representations of Jupiter, Æsculapius, Pluto, Lunus, Nemesis, Hygeia, &c. Apollo, however, occasionally appears; and on a coin of Commodus<sup>90</sup> he is represented in a female habit playing on the lyre. Besides these, there are the figures of Diana Ephesia and of an Amazon on horseback, armed with the bipennis.

No. 32. *Obv.*—Same legend and head.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ. CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord of the people of Ephesus and Sardes.* Diana Ephesia standing: by her side a female figure. Æ 10.

It appears from this coin, that the city of Sardes in Lydia was amongst those who entered into alliance with the Ephesians, the figure of whose celebrated deity sometimes appears on the coins of Sardes. Sardes boasted the titles of Neocorus and Metropolis, and a coin of Elagabalus shows that the former was twice repeated.<sup>91</sup>

No. 33. *Obv.*—Similar legend and head.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ. ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord of the people of Ephesus and Tralles.* Diana Ephesia and Jupiter Nicephorus.

From the coins of Tralles in Lydia, Jupiter appears to have been the most important, if not the tutelary deity of that city. To give a particular account of those cities with whom the Ephesians formed alliances, or rather, who formed alliances with the Ephesians, would swell these remarks beyond their prescribed limits.

<sup>90</sup> Mionnet, *Descrip.* tom. iv. p. 303.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* p. 133.

## LUCIUS VERUS.

No. 34. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΥΡ. ΟΥΗΡΟΣ. *The Emperor Cæsar Lucius Aurelius Verus. Laureated head.*

R.—ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. The statue of Diana Ephesia on a pedestal between the figures of Aurelius and Verus, each in the toga. Medallion. (Sestini, *Lettere*, tom. viii.)

If the words of the legend of the reverse are to be read independent of each other, the *ομονοια* would appear to allude to the emperors, who are thus represented in the toga, and joining hands on many Roman coins with the legend *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM* a type and legend which seem almost to justify the supposition of some antiquaries that the senate, in attributing virtues to vicious princes, thus delicately hinted that they ought to practise them. Doubtful as this may appear to some, the conjecture does not seem to be altogether groundless; for the type of the Roman coins alluded to was copied by several Greek cities. But, if we are to consider with Sestini<sup>92</sup> that this coin of Ephesus was struck to commemorate the concord of the Ephesians—"concordia inter se ipsos,"—the words of the legend must be read together, and signify the internal harmony of the Ephesians.<sup>93</sup>

No. 35. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Α. ΑΙΑ. ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΤΤΟΣ. *The Emperor Cæsar Lucius Aelius Verus Augustus. Laureated head.*

<sup>92</sup> *Classes Generales*, p. 81.

<sup>93</sup> These alliances, *inter se*, are strongly urged on the Athenians by Demosthenes.—Ep. il. (Περὶ τῆς Ὀμονοίας) Δεῖ εἰ ὑμᾶς, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτον μὲν ἀπάντων ἵΠΟΣ ὕΜΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΝ εἰς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῇ πόλει παρέσχεσθαι.

R.—ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord of the people of Laodicea and Ephesus.* Diana Ephesia between two stags, and Jupiter, seated, holding the hasta. Æ 11.

From this type we learn, that the Ephesians were on terms of amity with the citizens of the Phrygian Laodicea.

No. 36. *Obv.*—M. ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟC ΟΥΗΡΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ. *Marcus Aurelius Verus Cæsar.* Bare head with the paludamentum. 2

R.—ΑΝΔΡΟΚΛΑΟC ΚΤΙCΤΗC ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. *Androclus the founder of the Ephesians.* Androclus in military costume, holding (as it appears) a bow in his extended right hand, his left grasping a spear. Æ 6.

This very interesting type shows, that whatever were the opinions of ancient writers, the story of the foundation of Ephesus by Androclus was generally received as the true one by the Ephesians, in the days of the Antonines. Pausanias, who is supposed to have flourished in the succeeding reign, tells us that the tomb of the Ionian leader was in the road leading from the temple of Diana, and that upon it was the figure of an armed man<sup>94</sup>; and it is highly probable that the dress and arms of the figure on this coin were copied from the statue in question.

It is very true that a coin of Augustus, struck at Ephesus<sup>95</sup> gives the honoured title of Κτιστης to that emperor; but in this, as in many similar instances which might be referred to on Greek coins, it must be considered as mere hyperbole, simply signifying that the emperor was the benefactor or restorer of the city. It should be observed that a coin of Antoninus Pius bears two heroic figures, with the names of *Cyzicus* and *Ephesus*, but without any designation.

<sup>94</sup> Lib. vii. c. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Vaillant. Num. Græca.

## COMMODUS.

No. 37. *Obv.*—M. AY. OAYM. KOMOΔOC. *Marcus Aurelius Olympius Commodus.* Laureated head of Commodus.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ B. ΝΕΟ. (*Money*) of the *Ephesians*, twice *Neocori*. Diana, the huntress, overpowering a stag. Æ 6.

2.—Another, with a river god seated; in the exergue, ΩΚΕΑΝOC.

We here find the title of *Olympius* bestowed on the worthless Commodus. This was a little in advance of the emperor's vanity; since at home he was content with that of Hercules, as many Roman coins testify. The sea is typified in the same manner as a river god according to the general practice of the Greeks.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

No. 38. *Obv.*—AY. KAI. A. CEN. CEYHPOC ΠEP. *The Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax.* Laureated head of Septimius Severus.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ B. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. (*Money*) of the *Ephesians*, twice *Neocori*. The figure of Diana Ephesia between the rivers Cayster and Cenchrius. Æ 7.

The signification of this type is obvious. The river Cayster has already been noticed. The stream, called the Cenchrius, was held in veneration by the Ephesians for the reasons mentioned at page 74.

No. 39. *Obv.*—CEYHPOC ΠEIOC AYΓ. *Severus Pius Augustus.* Laureated head.

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ B. ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. (*Money*) of the *Ephesians*, twice *Neocori*. Two children suckled by a wolf. Æ 5½.

The type of the founders of Rome is probably intended as a compliment to Geta and Caracalla, the sons of Severus;

but it may merely signify the respect which the Ephesians affected to feel for their Roman masters; for imperial Greek coins of other emperors bear the type of the wolf and twins, a type which was revived in the days of Constantine the Great, as is shewn by innumerable examples preserved to our times. We learn from Livy<sup>95</sup> that these images were erected over the public buildings at Rome; and we know that they are figured on the divisions of the Roman *As*, as well as on the coins of Campania.

## JULIA DOMNA.

No. 40. *Obv.*—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣεΒΑΚΤΗ. *Julia Augusta.* Head of the Empress.

R.—ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΧ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. (Money) of the Ephesians, thrice Neocori and (also) of Diana. A female figure, wearing the stola and a turreted crown, standing; in her right hand the hasta, her left holding an ox; before, the figure of Diana Ephesia. Æ 9.

This coin is given by Mionnet,<sup>96</sup> who has transposed the legend of the reverse, an error which he has rectified in his sixth supplemental volume.<sup>97</sup> It is remarkable as shewing that apart from all other honours, and the repetition of the title of Neocoros, the Neocoros of the Great Diana was their chief and permanent boast; and a right which time had confirmed and hallowed. The group represents a sacrifice to the Ephesian goddess, by the province of Ionia, typified by the female figure with the turreted crown.

<sup>95</sup> Lib. x.

<sup>96</sup> Descrip. tom. iii. p. 106.—No. 342.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. tom. vi. p. 159.—No. 524.

## CARACALLA.

No. 41. *Obv.*—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΥΤ. *Antoninus Augustus. Laureated head.*

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord of the people of Ephesus and Sardes. The figures of Diana Ephesia and Juno Pronuba, standing.* Æ 10.

No. 42. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CΕΒ. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus.*

R.—ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ CΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΥ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΗΑΙΟΙ ΝΕΟΙ. *By decree of the Senate of the Ephesians. The New Suns. Four temples containing, severally, statues of Severus, Domna, Caracalla, and Geta.* Æ .

The practice of paying divine honours to their rulers was, as has been already observed, a very common one with the degenerate and degraded Greeks. Every one acquainted with ancient history will remember the account which Plutarch<sup>98</sup> gives of Antony and Cleopatra at Alexandria, when the Triumvir was styled Νεος Διονυσος (*the New Bacchus*) and his paramour Νέα Ισις (*the New Isis*), which latter title, or rather that of Θεα Νέα or Νεωτέρα, is found on a coin of Cleopatra, doubtless struck at the very time of that insane mummerly.<sup>99</sup> Buonarrotti<sup>100</sup> cites many examples of this practice, quoting a marble from Spon, on which Sabina the empress is styled the New Ceres (Νεαν Δημητέρα), and another from the same author inscribed to Julia Pia as the New Vesta (Εστιαν Νεαν). Caligula called the temple of Jerusalem after his name—Διος επιφανους νεου Γαιου.

<sup>98</sup> In Vita Ant. See also Paterculus, lib. ii. 83, and Dio. lib. xlviii.

<sup>99</sup> Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 200, 209.

<sup>100</sup> Osservazioni Istoriche, p. 40.



No. 43. *Obv.*—ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΥΓ. *Antoninus Augustus. Lau-  
reated head.*

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord  
of the People of Ephesus and Sardes. The figures of  
Diana Ephesia and Juno Pronuba standing.* Æ .

The worship of the Samian Juno appears to have been cultivated in several of the Asiatic cities; and the manner in which she is represented on many coins, shews that she was, like Diana of the Ephesians, a very ancient deity. We have here evidence that she was held in especial honour by the people of Sardes in Lydia.

No. 44. *Obv.*—ΑΥΓ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CEB. *The  
Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Lau-  
reated head with the paludamentum*

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC Δ. ΝΕΩΚ.—(Money)  
*of the Ephesians, the first of Asia, four times*<sup>101</sup> *Neocori.*  
*Four temples.* Æ 10.

This curious and interesting coin is in the collection of the British Museum. The first temple contains the figure of Diana Polymamma; the second, a togated figure; and the two others, of which we have a side view, have each a flight of steps, and contain a figure holding the hasta. From this type, therefore, we gather, without the aid of other evidence, that the repetition of that title, which was the chief boast of the Ephesians, had no reference to the Neocoros of the Great Diana, as some have supposed; but that it was recorded on the erection of another temple to an Emperor. This bringing together of the great deity and the deified emperors, recalls to mind Chandler's<sup>102</sup> description of a bridge which he saw on the road from Aiasalück to

<sup>101</sup> The Δ is here the Greek numeral 4.

<sup>102</sup> Travels in Asia Minor, p.117.

Guzel-hissar or Magnesia, and which had been erected at the expense, as appears by the inscription which it bore, of one Pollio, who had dedicated it to the Ephesian Diana, the Emperor Augustus, Tiberius his son, and to the people of Ephesus. There are coins of Caracalla and Geta with the legend ΝΕΟΙ ΗΛΙΟΙ under the bust.

## ELAGABALUS.

No. 45. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC CEB. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus. Laureated armed bust, with the paludamentum.*

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΜΟΝΩΝ ΔΙΑCΩΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΙ ΝΕΟΚΟΡΩΝ. (*Money of the Ephesians, alone, of all (cities) four times Neocori.* The emperor in the toga, sacrificing on a tripod before the temple of Diana Ephesia. Æ 10½.

This boast of the Ephesians, that they were the sole people who had been declared Neocori for the *fourth* time, is confirmed by the coins of other cities, which bear records of three Neocorates only.

It is well known that Elagabalus was brought up as a priest of the sun; and it is very probable that he is here officiating in a sacerdotal character in a sacrifice to Diana.

No. 46. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Laureated head of Elagabalus with the paludamentum.*

R.—ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΑ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. A laurel garland, within which is the bust of Elagabalus with the paludamentum, and the inscription, ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΟΑΥΜΗΛΙΑ, in two lines: below, two palm-branches, the reward of the victors in the games. Æ ½.

The words of the legend combined may be thus rendered "*The Universal and Olympian Games of the Ephesians, Neocori,*"

It is probable that the games which this coin records were celebrated by the Ephesians on the occasion of a visit from the depraved Emperor, who, as Herodian<sup>103</sup> informs us, was detained for some time at Nicomedia, after his election to the empire, by the severity of the season, and who might therefore have visited Ephesus previously to his setting out for Rome: at any rate, it shews that the Ephesians were anxious to testify their attachment to one who had promised to tread in the steps of Augustus and Marcus Aurelius, and who, on his first assumption of the purple, led many to hope for better times. These expectations were, however, not to be realised, for Elagabalus soon commenced his career of astounding iniquity. His fondness for public games is especially noticed by Dio,<sup>104</sup> who relates that more than fifty tigers were slain in one of these entertainments.

## MAXIMINUS.

No. 47. *Obv.*—Γ. ΙΟΥ. ΜΑΞΙΜΙΝΟΥ. *Caius Julius Maximinus.*  
Laureated head.

*R.*—ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΤΥΧΗ. *Fortune of the Ephesians.* Fortune standing, holding in her right hand the prow of a vessel, and in her left, a cornucopia. Æ.

From the attributes with which Fortune is here invested, we may infer that that deity had a statue at Ephesus, and that she was propitiated by sacrifices on the occasion of a voyage.

Other coins of Ephesus represent Fortune with her usual attributes, the rudder and cornucopia, as she appears perpetually on Roman coins.

<sup>103</sup> Lib. v. c. 11.

<sup>104</sup> Lib. lxxix.

## GORDIANUS.

No. 48. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝΤΩ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC CЄ. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Antoninus Gordianus. Laureated head.*

R.—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. *Concord of the people of Ephesus and Alexandria. Diana Ephesia and Serapis standing on the deck of a galley. Æ 10½.*

The custom of placing the divinities on rafts or galleys was of remote antiquity, and perhaps had its origin among the Egyptians. The Ephesians appear to have been aware of this; and the great deity of Alexandria is here accordingly placed on the deck of a galley in company with the Ephesian goddess. Pausanias describes a very curious figure of Minerva seen by him at Priene. It was formed on the Egyptian model, and placed on a raft, as if sailing from Phœnician Tyre.<sup>105</sup> Porphyry alludes to this practice of the Egyptians, who, he informs us, placed their gods on rafts or galleys, because they considered that the element on which they floated was necessary to the production and the maintenance of animal and vegetable life; moreover, he observes, in Holy Writ it is said, that *the Spirit of God moved upon the waters*.<sup>106</sup>

Other coins of Gordian struck at Ephesus bear the figures of Serapis and Isis; and on one of them the goddess is depicted as Isis Pharia, holding a sail distended by the wind and standing by the Alexandrian Pharos,<sup>107</sup> a type probably borrowed from that of a common Alexandrian coin of Antoninus Pius.

<sup>105</sup> Σχεδία γὰρ ἔϋλων. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς θεὸς ἐκ Τύρου τῆς Φοινίκης ἐξεπλεύσει καθ' ἡντινα κ. τ. λ. Archæic. lib. vii. c. 5.

<sup>106</sup> De Antro Nympharum, pp. 256-7. Edit. Cantab. 1655.

<sup>107</sup> Mionnet, Descript. tom. iii. p. 117.

## PHILIPPUS.

No. 49. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΙΟΥ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Julius Philippus.* Laureated head of Philip.

*R.*—ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ. *Heraclitus of the Ephesians.* The bearded figure of Heraclitus, clad in a mantle, his right hand raised, his left resting on a club.

Ephesus was the birth-place of the philosopher Heraclitus; and it is probable that the figure on this coin is a copy of some well known statue, which perished many ages back in the general wreck of the city.

50. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΙΟΥ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Julius Philippus.* Laureated head of Philip with the paludamentum.

*R.*—ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΗΛΟΥC Α. A galley with the sail set, and rowers. Æ 5½.

This coin was struck to commemorate the arrival, for the first time, of some important personage at Ephesus; and there can be little doubt but that it records the entrance of the emperor himself. Vaillant<sup>108</sup> renders the legend—"Ephesiorum primus appulsus"—adding, "nempe quando per mare Philippus Ephesum venit," and the same author<sup>109</sup> cites a coin of Septimius Severus struck at Perinthus with the legend ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ Β. *Adventus Secundus*; on which occasion, games, named *Severia*, were held in honour of the emperor's second arrival in that city. Roman coins, it is well known, often bear the legend *Adventus Augusti*; but the Greeks alone appear to have noted the number of times that they were thus honoured by the emperor's visits. This distinction suggests an easy explanation; the record on the Roman coins denoted the emperor's return to the

<sup>108</sup> Num. Græca. p. 162.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. p. 86.

capital, while that on the money of the Greeks recorded his visits <sup>110</sup> to the cities of the Roman provinces.

#### OTACILIA.

No. 51. *Obv.*—MAP. OTA. CEYHPA CEB. *Marcia Otacilia Severa Augusta.* Head of Otacilia.

R.—EΦECIΩN KOINON ΠAHIΩNIΩN. *The Community of the Ephesians, with all Ionia.* A tetrastyle Temple. Æ 6. (*Vaillant.*)

Pausanias speaks in several places of the Panionion of the Iones, an assembly from which the Smyrnæans were for a long time excluded.

#### PHILIPPUS JUNIOR.

No. 52. *Obv.*—M. IOYA. ΦIAIHPΠOC KAICAP. *Marcus Julius Philippus Cæsar.* Bare head of the younger Philip with the paludamentum.

R.—EΦECIΩN APTEMIC ACYAO. *Diana of the Ephesians, Inviolable.* Statue of Diana Ephesia between two stags. Æ 8½. (*Mionnet, from the cabinet of M. Cousinery.*)

#### ETRUSCILLA.

No. 53. *Obv.*—EΠEN. ETPOYCIAAA CEB. *Herennia Etruscilla Augusta.* The bust of the empress on a crescent.

R.—APTEMIC. EΦECIA. ACYAOY. *Diana Ephesia, Inviolable.* The goddess with her attributes between two stags: in the field, the sun and moon. Æ 8½.

These two coins are remarkable on account of the title of *Asυλoς*. A very interesting account is given by Tacitus,<sup>111</sup> of the cities which claimed the right of Asylum in the reign of Tiberius. That subtle tyrant, while strengthening his power at home, affected to regard the ancient jurisdiction of the Senate, by referring to them the representations and

<sup>110</sup> Vide Corsini, "Fasti Attici," where these and similar records are noticed.

<sup>111</sup> *Annales*, lib. iii. c. 41.

petitions of the various cities of Greece, which claimed the privilege of Asylum or Sanctuary. Foremost among them were the Ephesians, who alleged that Apollo and Diana were not, according to the vulgar legend, born at Delos, but in the Ortygian Grove, within their territory, and that the very olive tree against which Latona leaned, when she was delivered of the twin deities, was still standing; that to this grove Apollo retired for sanctuary from the wrath of Jupiter, after the slaughter of the Cyclops; and that here Bacchus pardoned the Amazons who sought refuge at the altar of Diana. They further represented, that their rights in this respect had never been invaded under the Persian and Macedonian rule. Next came the Magnesians, who asserted that the privilege had been granted to them by Lucius Scipio, after he had vanquished Antiochus, and subsequently by Sylla, after the defeat of Mithridates. Aphrodisia and Stratonicea put in their claims, alleging that the right had been granted to them by Cæsar in reward for services rendered to his party, and had been confirmed by a decree of Augustus, in which that emperor had especially commended their fidelity to the Romans on the occasion of an irruption of the Parthians. The people of Hierocæsarea referred their claim to a much earlier period, asserting that they possessed the statue of Diana Persica, whose temple had been consecrated by King Cyrus and the rights of which had been confirmed by Perpenna Isauricus and many other Roman Generals—*multaque alia imperatorum nomina*—who had allowed the right of sanctuary within an area of two miles around it. Cyprus laid claim to no less than three asylums; the first founded by Ærias in honour of the Venus of Paphos; the second by Amathus the son of Ærias, dedicated to the Amathusian Venus; and the third by Teucer to Jupiter Salaminus, when he fled from the anger of his father.

These claims appear to have caused some trouble and perplexity to the conscript fathers, who gave power to the Consuls to enquire into their validity, charging them to make due investigation of the several pretensions to the right, and report the result to the senate. The consuls found that many of the cities could refer only to *tradition* in support of their claim; but they discovered that, besides the temples above named, there was one at Pergamus dedicated to Æsculapius, which was really a sanctuary. In the end, the senate, expressing great reverence for the several deities, confirmed the right of sanctuary to but a small number of the claimants, who were commanded to place in each temple a memorial of the decree engraved on brass, with a view to the preservation of the right to posterity, and the prevention of ill-grounded claims for the future.<sup>112</sup>

It is scarcely necessary to add, that these sanctuaries, like those of the Middle Ages, were crowded with the most profligate and abandoned of mankind. Tacitus says, they afforded shelter to runaway slaves, fraudulent debtors, and persons accused of capital offences, and that the excess of the evil led to the enquiry promoted by Tiberius.

The temple of Diana Ephesia enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary before the time of Alexander the Great, who extended it to the distance of a stadium around the building. Mithridates enlarged this to an arrow's flight shot from the angle of the pediment of the temple, which fell a little beyond the line prescribed by Alexander.<sup>113</sup> By An-

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<sup>112</sup> "Factaque senatus consulta, quis multo cum honore, modus tamen præscribatur, jussique ipsis in templis figere æra, sacrandam ad memoriam, neu specie religionis in ambitionem dilaberentur."—*Annales*, lib. iii. c. 43.

<sup>113</sup> Strabo, lib. xiv.



tony, it was further enlarged, and comprised a portion of the city; but this was found to be an evil, and the extension was abrogated by Augustus. Notwithstanding the enlargement of the sanctuary by Mithridates, it is evident that the temple proved no asylum to the Romans when he ordered the general massacre in Asia, the wretched fugitives being dragged from the altar and the statues of Diana, and remorselessly butchered without distinction.<sup>114</sup>

Such are the numismatic monuments of the once famous city of Ephesus, whose subsequent history may be traced in a few brief words. In the early days of Christianity, it became by turns a prey to barbarian spoliation and fanatical frenzy; and it may be rationally conjectured, that the final destruction of its magnificent temple was achieved by the zealots of the time, while the more precious ornaments of its interior had been greedily seized and appropriated by the savage hordes who were daily becoming more formidable even to Rome herself. "A writer," says Chandler,<sup>115</sup> "who lived towards the end of the second century, has cited a sibyl as foretelling that, the earth opening and quaking, the temple of Diana would be swallowed like a ship in a storm in the abyss; and Ephesus, lamenting and weeping by the river-banks, would enquire for it, then inhabited no more. If the authenticity of the oracle were undisputed, and the sibyl acknowledged a true prophetess, we might

<sup>114</sup> Ἐφεσίοι τοὺς ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον κατ' ἀφυγόντας συμπλεκόμενους τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἔξελκόντες ἔκτεινον.—*Arrian. Bell. Mith.* p. 317. Ed. Amst. 1670.

<sup>115</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 141.

infer, from the visible condition of the place, the full accomplishment of the whole prediction. We now seek in vain for the temple; the city is prostrate, and the goddess gone!"

At the time this was written, the site of Ephesus was overrun with fennel, which grew tall and rank among its ruins; and the partridge was calling to its mate among the corn which grew within the area of the stadium. At the present day, if any change has taken place, it only marks the further desolation of the spot. The busy streets and public places which once reverberated with the tramp of countless feet are now wrapped in the silence of the grave, and are seldom traversed save by beasts of prey. The plaudits of the amphitheatre and the odeum are exchanged for the loud cries of the rook and the daw, and ill-omened birds sit and brood in the places once occupied by emperors and consuls.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

*Lewisham, 20th May, 1841.*

## NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. Imperial Greek coins are seldom in sufficiently good preservation to allow of their being engraved for the mere purpose of illustration: and such is the case with the majority of the present series; so that the examples given in the accompanying plate are principally selected for their reverses, which, though not fine, are in tolerable condition.

The vignette is engraved from a medallion of Claudius and Agrippina, in the cabinet of Dr. John Lee. The reverse bears the legend *DIANA EPHESIA* in Roman characters. This piece is one of those alluded to at page 80. The very rude and singular image which it bears, favours the supposition that this may have been the original figure of the goddess; and the conjecture would not, perhaps, be disputed, were it not for the occurrence of another representation of this far-famed deity, of a very primitive form, in the coin No. 2.

- No. 1.—Is a medallion of Claudius in the cabinet of B. Nightingale, Esq. The reverse bears the usual figure of Diana within a tetrastyle temple, the columns of which are decidedly of the Ionic order. (See the remarks at page 90).
- 2.—A coin of Antoninus Pius (in the collection of the British Museum) described at page 99, and remarkable for the very rude figure of the Ephesian goddess.
- 3.—A coin of Caracalla (in the collection of the British Museum) described at page 109.
- 4.—This coin, though of Otacilia, the wife of the elder Philip, bears, on the reverse, a type precisely similar to that of Etruscilla described at page 114. Here the figure of Diana differs from those on the earlier coins.



ERRATA.

Page 77 Note 14, for *ὀδροῦς* read *ἀδροῦς*.

Page 78 Note 16, for *ceterasque* read *cæterasque*.

Page 100, for *Theusa* read *Thensa*. Also in Note 86.

Page 114, for *Smyneans* read *Smyrneans*.





COINS OF EPHESUS.

